

QUADERNI TICINESI

NUMISMATICA E ANTICHITÀ CLASSICHE

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SUPPLEMENTUM GALBIANUM

The difficulties of Galba's coinage have been felt by many numismatists. In revising *RIC I* I was no less subject to these than others before me. Since my revised volume was published I have been able to study the casts of nearly 200 specimens of the non-Roman aurei and denarii of Galba which were not available to me during the process of revision. It therefore seems right to publish, as soon as possible, the results of this regrettably later study, in order to correct and amplify the lists in pp. 232 ff. of *RIC I* (revised) (cited here as *RIC I²*). These amendments and additions are due mainly to the immense internal variation in Galba's non-Roman gold and silver. The legends, both obverse and reverse, and their disposition, show constant variety, which is not seldom masked by worn condition. I therefore set out, first, new or corrected material. This is followed by certain detailed observations of an analytical character.

I

ALTERATIONS, CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LISTS
in *RIC I²*, pp. 232 ff.

SPAIN

No. 1 should not be rated below R3.

No. 2. Reverse legend should read ♂ HISPANIA (BMC 162 (PL. I. 2), ANS (New York), Vienna, Oxford).

After no. 3, add no. 3a: Denarius, obv. ♂ GALBA IMPER, bust B, and rev. ♂ HISPANIA, type as no. 2. R2. Oxford (PL. I. 3).

After nos. 3 and 3a, add no. 3b: Denarius, obv. ♂ GALBA IMPER, bust B, and rev. ♀ VIRTVS, Virtus bust r. in crested helmet. R3. Vienna.

After no. 5, add no. 5a: Denarius, with obv. 1 f D and rev. as no. 6. R2. Oxford (PL. I. 5).

Nos. 7 and 9. The obv. bust may possibly be C.

Before no. 13, add no. 12a: Denarius, with obv. 1 c E and rev. as no. 13. R3. Vienna.

After no. 19, add no. 19a: Denarius with obv. 1 c E and rev. as no. 19. R2. Oxford.

After no. 19a, add no. 19b: Denarius with obv. 1 d E and rev. as no. 19 but ♂ HISPANIA. R2. ANS (New York) and Oxford (same pair of dies).

After no. 22, add no. 22a: Denarius, as no. 22. R3. ANS (New York).

After no. 22a, add no. 22b: Denarius with obv. 3 a D and rev. ⌈ LIBERTAS ⌋ RESTITVTA, Libertas, dr., stg. facing, head r., r. holding (?) pileus, l. extended. R4/R3. Oxford (obv. die of BMC 197) (PL. I. 10).

After no. 23, add no. 23a: Denarius with obv. 1 c D and rev. ⌈ ROMA ⌋ R3. Oxford (PL. I. 11).

After no. 28, add no. 28a: Aureus with obv. 1 f D and rev. ⌈ ROMA ⌋ RENA- SCENS, type as no. 24. R4/R3. ANS (New York), 7.70 g.

After no. 29, add no. 29a: Denarius with obv. 1 e D and rev. S P-Q R on small round shield surrounded by oak wreath as on no. 46. R4. B.M.(1935) (PL. I. 14).

After no. 29a, add no. 29b: Denarius with obv. 1 e D and rev. as no. 48 but with legend worn smooth. Vienna.

After no. 30, add no. 30a: Denarius with obv. 1 f C and rev. as no. 30. R2. Cambridge.

After no. 35, add no. 35a: Denarius with obv. ⌈ GALBA ⌋ IMPERATOR, bust D, and rev. as no. 35. R3. Vienna.

After no. 36, add no. 36a: Denarius with obv. 3 a D and rev. ⌈ LIBERTAS ⌋ RESTITVTA, Libertas, dr., leaping r., head turned l. R4. Oxford (PL. I. 17).

After no. 47, add no. 47a: Denarius with obv. 3 a D and rev. as no. 48. R2. BMC 199. This coin (2.00 g., broken, dies ↑ ↓) was accepted (and illustrated) by Mattingly, but some doubt about its genuineness may be felt.

After no. 48, add no. 48a: Denarius with obv. 3 b D and rev. ⌈ VIRTVS, type as no. 30. R3. Oxford.

No. 49 should not be rated above R(are).

After no. 49, add no. 49a: Denarius with obv. ⌈ SER GALBA ⌋ IMPERA- TOR, bust D, and rev. as no. 49. R2. Oxford.

After no. 49a, add no. 49b: Denarius with obv. ⌈ SER GALBA ⌋ IMPERA- TOR, bust E, and rev. as no. 49. R2. Oxford and BMC 222.

After no. 52, add no. 52a: Denarius with obv. 6 D and rev. as no. 52 but ⌈ DI- VA ⌋ AVGVSTA. R2. B.M.(1928) (PL. II. 5).

Before no. 54, in section (vii), add no. 53a: Aureus with obv. 7 a C and rev. as no. 54. R3. Oxford (7.41 g., dies ↑ ↓ ; of heavy style, with coarse border of dots) (PL. II. 6).

After no. 54, add no. 54a: Denarius with obv. 7 a C and rev. as no. 55. R3. Oxford.

After no. 55, add no. 55a: Denarius with obv. 7 a D and rev. as no. 55. R2. Oxford and ANS (New York).

No. 60. It seems far from certain that BMC 189 has obv. bust D rather than bust C.

GAUL

After no. 95, in section (ii), add no. 95a: Denarius with obv. 3 c A (?) (legend ζ lost) and rev. λ ROMA ζ RENASCENS, type as no. 95. R2. Oxford. Nos. 117 and 118 should be deleted; BMC 216 and Hunter 78 both show legend 6.

Although it is not the intention of these notes to include the African issues of Galba, one newly recorded issue of obvious importance must here be listed.

AFRICA

After no. 520, add no. 520a: Denarius with obv. 5, but with S C below bust C without globe, and rev. λ VICTORIA \downarrow (low left) P R, type as no. 519. R5/R4. B.M.(1983); the rev. of fine and delicate style (PL. II. 19).

II
COMMENTS*SPAIN (TARRACO?)*

(i) «Horseman» issues; *RIC* I², p. 232, nos. 1-3a.

Two main points emerge from further study. First, the obverse type showing the horseman to r. (obv. A) is notably rare: of the 10 specimens of this «horseman» group now assembled, nine show the type to l. and only one (BMC 161) to r. (PL. I. 1). Secondly, the reverse type is not confined to showing Hispania: a coin in Vienna shows the bust of VIRTVS to r. in crested helmet (PL. I. 4). At first sight this Vienna coin might seem to require inclusion in the Gaulish (Vienne?) group (i), *RIC* I², pp. 236f., where that reverse appears on no. 94. But the obverse of the Vienna coin (no. 5.773) bears the legend ζ GAL-BA IMP—ER, known for the Tarraco(?) group (no. 3, Oxford, with HISPA-NIA reverse) but not for the Vienne(?) group, in which the *praenomen* SER is apparently always present. It therefore seems necessary to include the Vienna denarius in the Tarraco(?) group as no. 3a. The only remaining difficulty about this Vienna denarius is that, while the obverse die was not greatly worn, the reverse die was much more worn. If the Vienne(?) group were to provide a reverse die-link with the Vienna coin (and this has not yet been observed), it would argue for the transference of a reverse die from Vienne(?) to Tarraco(?) in the late spring of A.D.68. As things are, we can only suppose that the single

Hispania reverse of Tarraco(?) group (i) was suddenly varied when the *Virtus* type appeared at Vienne(?).

Apart from instances of two coins coming from the same pair of dies (e.g. BMC 162 and Oxford), there are instances of the sharing of a single die. A Vienna coin (no. 5.772) and an ANS (New York) coin (both *RIC* I², no. 2, rev. ♂ *HISPANIA*) share the same obverse die, and another Vienna coin (no. 5.771) and BMC 163 *bis* (both of them again *RIC* I², no. 2, rev. ♂ *HISPANIA*) share the same reverse die.

This little group, of which the coins (all denarii) are distinctly rare, shows features normal in an initial series. The left-facing horse may be larger or smaller, and it may prance and rear more or less strongly (PL. I. 2 and 4). The head of Hispania may vary in size from small (normal) to medium. A little round shield is normally below her bust-truncation, but is once (BMC 161) behind it — this, interestingly, on the coin with horseman to r. (PL. I. 1). Generally two corn-ears are shown in front of her bust-truncation, but once (Oxford) there are three (PL. I. 3). There is the further variation of *GALBA IMP* with *GALBA IMPER*. Weights are a little lower than the 3.60-3.30 g. peak assigned to the complete Tarraco(?) group in *RIC* I², p. 232, being nearer 3.50-3.15 g. Dies are rather irregularly positioned: while tending to ↑ ↓ they hardly ever achieve it, and sometimes diverge widely.

(ii) *RIC* I², pp. 232f., nos. 4-12. Portrait obverse with legends 1d and 3a.

This was evidently a very small group, now distinctly rare. Casts of only six coins were available for study. For the first time Galba strikes aurei (ANS (New York), PL. I. 8). That this was an early issue is clear from the portrait which, while fairly accurate, is immature, unlike the mature, «hard» style of one Oxford denarius (PL. I. 5). Other portraits are tentative and poor, and vary in size. All except one are to r. Presumably Galba's official *imago* become available during the short period of this group. Until then all work was rough (BMC 198) (PL. I. 7). Three engravers, one of them skilled, seem to have been at work.

This group is too small to show any internal die-links, but there is an obverse die-link between BMC 197 (*RIC* I², p. 233, no. 7) and an Oxford coin (*RIC* I², p. 233, no. 22b) of group (iii) where the die, as would be expected, is appreciably worn (PL. I. 6 and 10). Two different reverse types are associated with this shared obverse die.

Weights in this first, short portrait-issue are spread widely from 3.60 to 3.10 g. Die-axes are still very irregular.

(iii) *RIC* I², pp. 233f., nos. 12a-32. Portrait obverse with legends 1c, 1d, 1e and 1f.

Output in this group was substantially greater, with casts of 44 specimens now assembled. Four issues of aurei were made, of which one included a coin (*RIC I²*, p. 233, no. 20; Vienna, rev. *Hispania*, 7.10 g.) of which the obverse and reverse dies are both of gem-like quality (PL. I. 9), while others (B.M. (1976), 7.69 g., of the same issue; and *RIC I²*, p. 233, no. 28a, ANS (New York), rev. *Roma Renascens*, 7.70 g. PL. I. 12), if less remarkable, are still very fine. This last aureus is from the same pair of dies as a denarius (*RIC I²*, p. 234, no. 29; BMC 180) (PL. I. 13), showing that the mint of Tarraco(?) allowed the use of the same dies for striking both gold and silver.

The obverse die-link between this and the last group has already been noted.

The integral coherence of group (iii) is clearly shown by the internal die-links so far observed:

RIC I², no. 13 (BMC 168, rev. *Diva Augusta*) shares an obv. die with no. 15 (BMC 171, rev. *Gallia Hispania*) and no. 19b (rev. *Hispania*).

RIC I², no. 18 (BMC 170 and Oxford, rev. *Gallia Hispania*) shares an obv. die with no. 21 (BMC 172, rev. *Hispania*) and no. 23 (Vienna, rev. *Libertas Publica*).

RIC I², no. 21 (Oxford, rev. *Hispania*) shares an obv. die with no. 27 (BMC 184, rev. *Roma Renascens*).

RIC I², no. 29a (B.M. (1935), rev. *S P Q R* on shield in wreath) shares an obv. die with no. 31 (Oxford, rev. *Virtus*).

Portraiture is now generally good, showing the harsh verisimilitude of Galba's finest likenesses, and usually in high relief. Most portraits are to r., but a sharply increased number are to l.; presumably an increased number of portrait-engravers sat around the official *imago* on both sides of it. There was, curiously, a noticeable tendency towards much smaller and more compact portrait-heads, seen for example in *RIC I²*, nos. 14, 20, 23a, 28a, 29, 29a, 30, 30a, 31 (PL. I. 15) and 32. In general these smaller heads are less skilful than the larger ones. The best portraits are associated with nos. 13, 18, 19, 20, 22a, 23, and 25.

The weights of the denarii show a peak at 3.50-3.30 g., and the die-axes approximate much more closely to t l. Presumably the mint was becoming better organised.

The most numerous issue in group (iii) was undoubtedly no. 23, which should be rated R(are) instead of R2.

(iv) *RIC I²*, p. 234, nos. 33-48a. Portrait obverses with legends 3a, 3b and 3c.

This group is smaller than group (iii), with only 21 casts assembled. All the portraits now face r. Continuity from group (iii) is suggested by the repetition of the rev. *S P Q R* on shield in oak-wreath (no. 46, aureus, still to be confirmed from Cohen 281, and no. 47, denarius, BMC 190, Vienna and Oxford).

The group's internal cohesion is evidenced by the following die-links:

RIC I², no. 36 (BMC 164, rev. *Diva Augusta*) shares an obv. die with no. 41 (BMC 179, rev. *Roma Renasc*).

RIC I², no. 39 (BMC 177, rev. *Libertas Restituta*) shares an obv. die with no. 40 (BMC 178, rev. *Roma Renasc*).

RIC I², no. 40 (BMC 178, rev. *Roma Renasc*) shares an obv. die with no. 45 (Vienna, rev. *Roma Victrix*) and no. 48a (Oxford, rev. *Virtus*).

A further example is seen of the use of the same dies for striking gold and silver. Nos. 44 (BMC 185) and 45 (Oxford) share the same obv. die, and possibly also the same rev. die, though the severe wear of the Oxford coin makes certainty impossible.

Group (iii) was noted as showing the inclusion of smaller with larger portrait-heads. Those smaller heads possibly marked a transition to group (iv), where — with less exaggeratedly «harsh» features (BMC 169, PL. I. 169 and 185, PL. I. 18) — they predominate. There are also portraits of quite anomalous style (BMC 199, PL. II. 1). Speculation is prompted that group (iii) lasted until c. July A.D. 68, when Galba met the senatorial delegation at Narbo (*RIC* I², p. 216) and accepted their offer of the principate. At that moment he could have sent on his best portrait-engravers, together with official portrait-models (known in Spain, but presumably not in Rome), to initiate his Rome-struck coinage, which I have accepted as beginning «c. July 68» (*RIC* I², pp. 240, 243). Aurei and denarii of Rome show an inconsistent, if technically polished, style of portraiture (see *BMCRE* i, pl. 52). But the *aes* of Rome is wonderfully strong and confident in its portraiture from the very beginning, and is highly reminiscent of the work in group (ii) of Tarraco(?). It may have been — at least in part — the product of some of Galba's best engravers from Tarraco(?).

Denarial weights in group (iv) cluster more thickly between 3.55 and 3.30 g. Die-axes are strictly at (or very near) ↑ ↓, with a single exceptional ↑ ↑.

(v) *RIC* I², pp. 234f., nos. 49-51. Portrait obverses with legends 4 and 5. Of this small group it has been possible to assemble casts of only 10 coins. It was a short issue (with only three reverse types, all used previously) which introduced the *praenomen* SER or SERVIVS into the obverse legend.

Internal coherence is shown by the following die-links:

RIC I², no. 49a (Oxford, head r., rev. *Concordia Provinciarum*) shares a rev. die with no. 49b (BMC 222 and Oxford, head l.).

RIC I², no. 50 (BMC 175, denarius, rev. *Hispania*) shares an obv. die with no. 51 (Oxford, aureus, rev. *Virtus*). This is a further example of the use of dies impartially for gold and silver.

Portraiture in this probably transitional group is varied. The left-facing head returns in at least two dies (BMC 175, PL. II. 4, and 222): these are «strong» portraits, of medium to small size. The right-facing heads, from not less than five dies, are of mixed quality: one (of no. 49, Oxford, PL. II. 2) shows only an approximation to Galba's features, another (also of no. 49, Oxford, PL. II. 3) shows a mature, harsh style.

Weights are too few to show any well-defined peak, and range from 3.58 to 3.09 g. Die-axes tend to ↑ ↓, though less closely than in group (iv).

(vi) *RIC I²*, p. 235, nos. 52-3. Portrait obverses with legend 6. Casts of only two denarii have been assembled for this extremely small issue, which shows Galba's fuller title, with TR P but not with P M. No internal die-links have been noted, but one clear sign of continuity is to be seen. A portrait in no. 69 (BMC 188, rev. *Roma Victrix*, PL. II. 7) is quite obviously from the same hand as one in group (iv), no. 36 (BMC 169, rev. *Diva Augusta*), and that same *Diva Augusta* die is from the same hand as an example of no. 52a (B.M. (1928)).

Portraits in group (vi) are of the smallish, neat variety.

(vii) *RIC I²*, p. 235, nos. 53a-64. Portrait obverses with legends 7a and 7b.

Of the 17 coins of which casts have been assembled for this final Tarraco(?) group, seven are aurei: Galba, now CAESAR AVG P M TR P, was presumably rewarding his most important supporters. Rather surprisingly, no internal links are apparent.

Portraiture is of mixed quality, some of it fairly good, and none exemplary: heads are rather small (BMC 193, PL. II. 9), sometimes with little verisimilitude (BMC 189, PL. II. 8). It would seem that the best engravers had gone elsewhere.

Denarii show a weight-peak between 3.60 and 3.35 g. The aurei preserve the peak dominant in groups (i)-(vi), namely, 7.75 to 7.60 g.

GAUL (Vienna?, Narbo?, and Lugdunum)

(a) (i) «Horseman» issues; *RIC I²*, pp. 236f., nos. 85-94.

On the present assemblage of 15 specimens, this group is noticeably larger than its Tarraco(?) counterpart. Moreover, it contains five reverse types as compared with the three of Tarraco(?). As at Tarraco(?) the horseman is normally

to r., with the horse larger or smaller, and prancing higher or lower: only one die so far shows the horseman to l. Again as at Tarraco(?) (cf. no. 3a), this Gaulish group includes a type of *Virtus* (head in crested helmet; no. 94, Oxford, PL. II. 10): the obverse of this coin shows a uniquely different disposition of the obverse legend.

Only one internal die-link has so far been observed:

RIC I², no. 86 (BMC 207-8, rev. *Hispania*) shares an obv. die with no. 92 (BMC 214, rev. *Tres Galliae*).

The «horseman» obverses and the *Hispania* reverses of this group are of less accomplished execution than their Tarraco(?) counterparts. It should be noted that there are no visible instances of dies linking shared types of Tarraco(?) and Gaul.

Denarial weights, with a peak perhaps at 3.45-3.20 g., are comparable with those of Tarraco(?) group (i), and so also the die-axes, though ↑↓ shows dominance. Unlike Tarraco(?) (i), Gaul (i) includes aurei: BMC 209 weighs 7.32 g., rather lower than the norm for Tarraco(?) (ii)-(vii).

(a) (ii) *RIC I²*, p. 237, nos. 95-103. Portrait obverses with legends 1c, 1d, 3b and 3c.

Casts of no more than eight coins were available for study: the group was evidently small. In this purely denarial issue the newly introduced portraiture is of very strange quality. If the issuing mint was Narbo, it is evident that Galba's features were quite unknown there, presumably because no *imago* was available. Thus portraits vary from the purely imaginary (BMC 230, PL. II. 2) to the banal (BMC 229, PL. II. 12); and treatment attempts a tiresome exactitude.

The inclusion of no. 95a in this group (where it would obviously be transitional) rests on the supposition that the obverse legend of the Oxford coin in question is partly off the flan, and thus invisible.

Two internal die-links may be noted:

RIC I², no. 95 (BMC 229, rev. *Roma Renascens*) shares an obv. die with no. 98 (Hunter 77, rev. *Victoria PR*).

RIC I², no. 99 (BMC 233a, rev. *Victoria PR*) shares an obv. die with no. 103 (BMC 234, rev. *Virtus*).

No gold has yet been recorded for this group. The denarii show no clear peak of weights, which vary from 3.69 to 2.95 g. Die-axes are usually ↑↓.

(a) (iii) *RIC I²*, pp. 237f., nos. 104-116. Portrait obverses with legends 4a and 4b.

This is a group larger than the last, with casts of 23 coins now assembled. Nos. 105 and 111 should not be rated above R(are). Two issues of aurei appear, and portraiture is suddenly of fine and «true» quality (BMC 217, PL. II. 13), sometimes draped and cuirassed (B.M. (1924), PL. II. 14): it would seem that Galba had now arrived in Narbo, where his features could be seen. The title IMPERATOR is now given in full.

The only internal links so far noted are:

RIC I², no. 110 (BMC 226, aureus, rev. *Victoria PR*) shares an obv. die with no. 111 (ANS (New York) and BMC 227 *bis*, denarius, rev. *Victoria PR*). This is a further example of the impartial use of a die for associated gold and silver.

The denarii of this group show a good concentration of weight at 3.60-3.35 g. Die-axes are ↑↓ or near.

(a) (iv) *RIC I²*, p. 238, nos. 117-120. Portrait obverses with legend 6.

A notably small and rare group, with casts of no more than four coins assembled. Portraiture is again of fine quality (BMC 225, PL. II. 15). The inclusion of P M in the titles puts the issue fairly late (see *RIC I²*, p. 216); if it was struck at Narbo, it will have been the last from that mint.

From so few specimens it is not possible to determine a firm weight-peak.

(b) (i) Lugdunum. *RIC I²*, pp. 238f., nos. 121-132.

This group contains more types than volume. Of the casts assembled, nearly a half are of the quinarii nos. 131-132. The sudden appearance of these quinarii — evidently in some quantity — among Galba's western issues is a phenomenon which demands, but so far lacks, an answer. Portraiture is fine and mature (BMC 239, PL. II. 16): it may be that the engravers who worked most recently at Narbo were transferred to Lugdunum in Galba's closing months.

The internal coherence of the group is evidenced by the following links:

RIC I², no. 121 (BMC 237, aureus, rev. *Aequitas [Aug]*) shares an obv. die with no. 129 (BMC 242, aureus, rev. *Pax Aug*).

RIC I², no. 131 (Oxford, quinarius, rev. *Victoria to l.*) shares an obv. die with no. 132 (Brussels, quinarius, rev. *Victoria to r.*).

RIC I², no. 131 (BMC 246, quinarius, rev. *Victoria to l.*, PL. II. 18) shares an obv. die with no. 132 (BMC 245, quinarius, rev. *Victoria to r.*, PL. II. 17).

The denarii show a concentration of weight between 3.50 and 3.20 g., the quinarii adhering closely to half of that norm. Die-axes are noticeably irregular.



